

# Exhibit 5



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# POLITICAL UPDATE 2013-2014

[www.RSLC.gov](http://www.RSLC.gov)

# THE GOP WAVE

**National Journal**

"Want More Women in Office? Look to Republicans."

**Townhall**  **com**

"Republicans Invested Heavily in Women – and it Paid Off."

**THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.**

"Flipping a single seat in some states can give Republicans control of a legislative body...This makes the RSLC an invaluable political investment."

**The  
New York  
Times**

"GOP Holds More State Legislatures Than Ever."

**GOVERNING**  
THE STATES AND LOCALITIES

**The Washington Post**

"Republicans Have Gained More Than 900 State Legislative seats since 2010."  
"In the States, the GOP is in its Best Position since the Great Depression."

**The Washington Times**

"GOP Gains by Tapping Democrats' Base for State Candidates"

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# RLCC

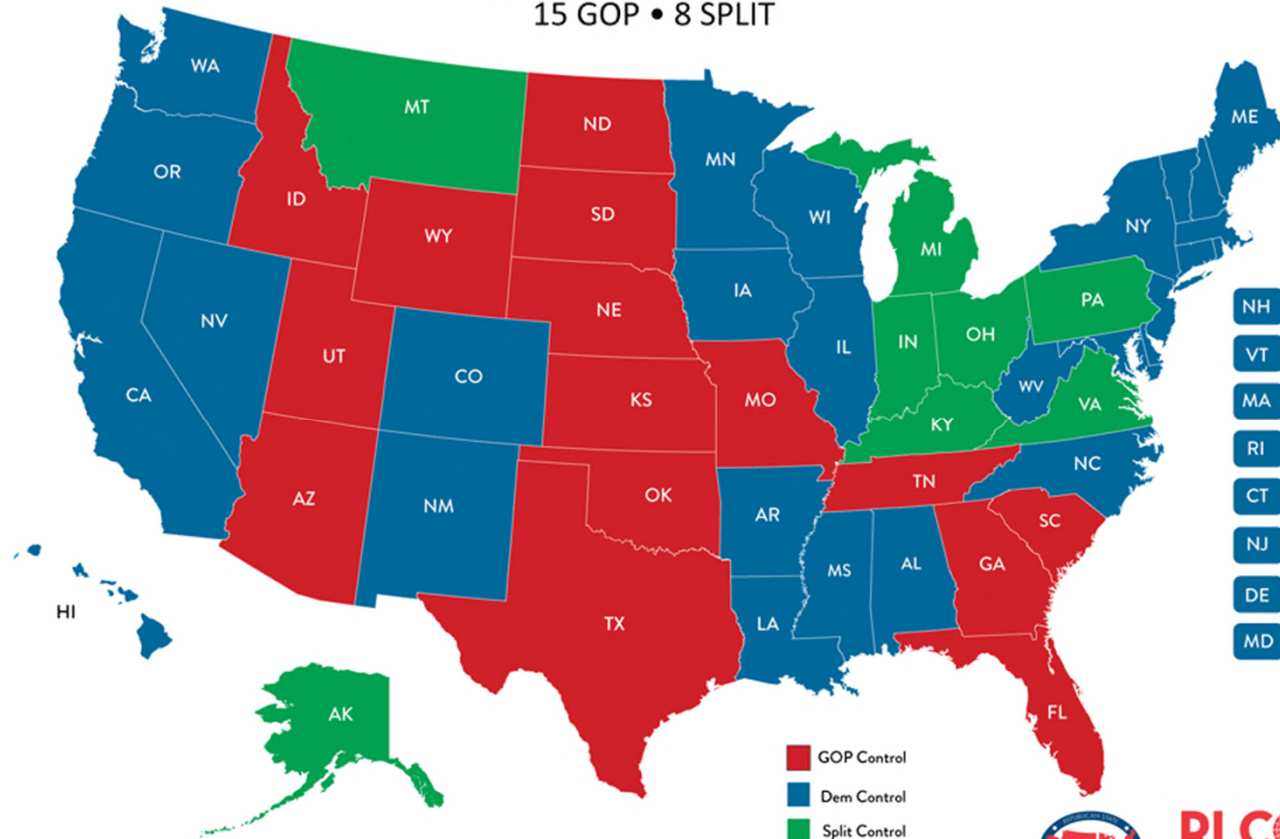
REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE  
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

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# CHANGE FROM 2010-2014

STATE LEGISLATIVE CONTROL PRE-2010 ELECTION  
15 GOP • 8 SPLIT



■ GOP Control  
■ Dem Control  
■ Split Control



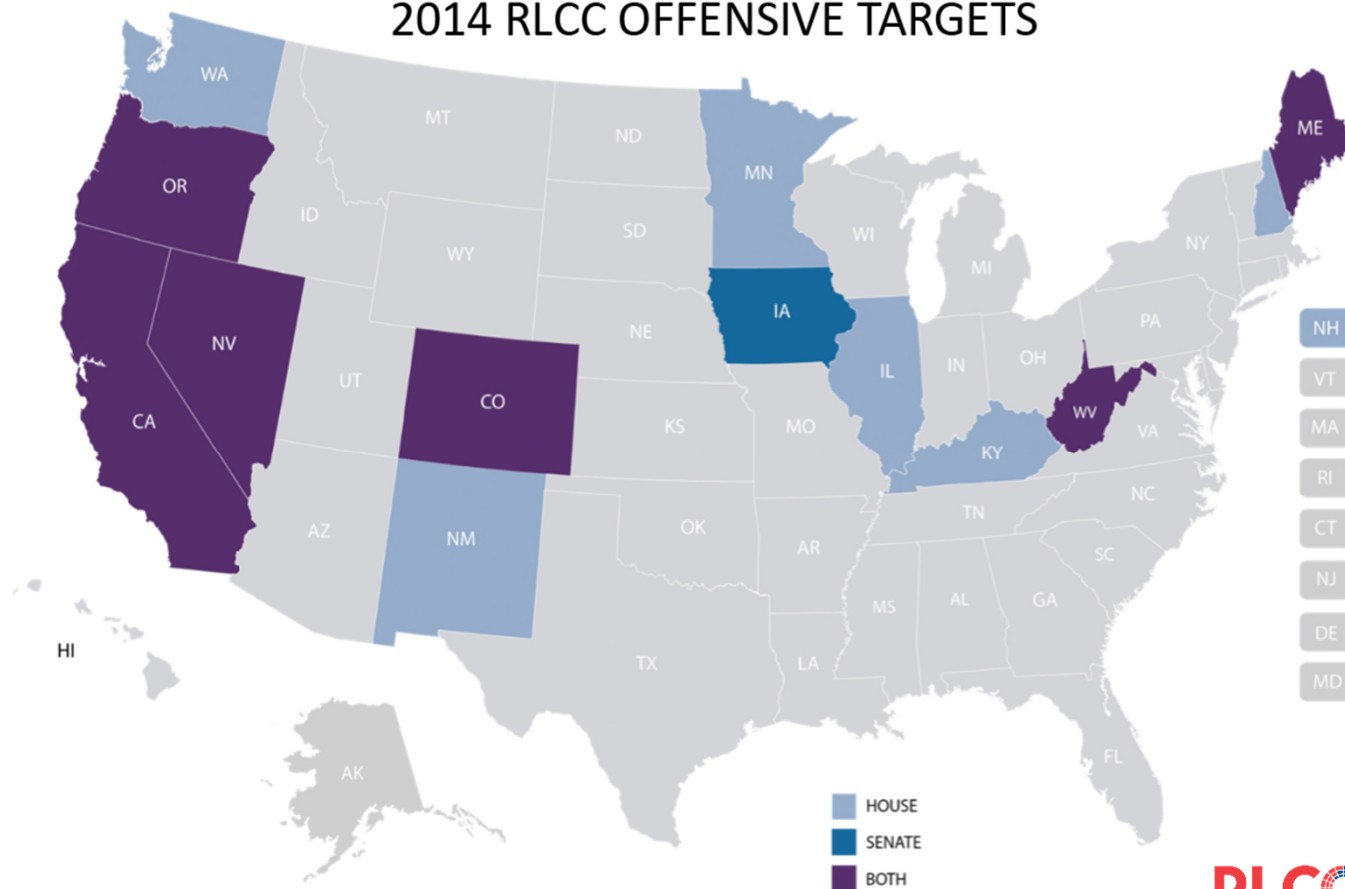
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CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE



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# TARGETS

## 2014 RLCC OFFENSIVE TARGETS

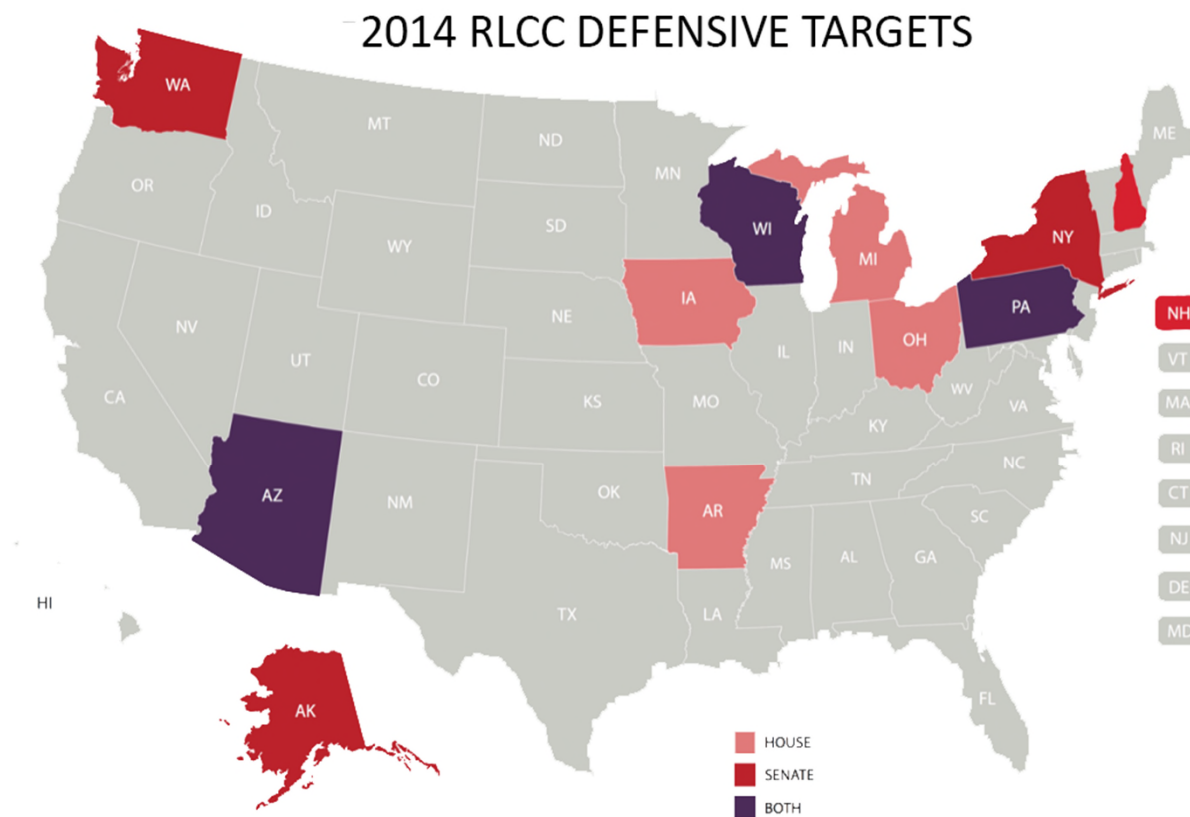


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# TARGETS



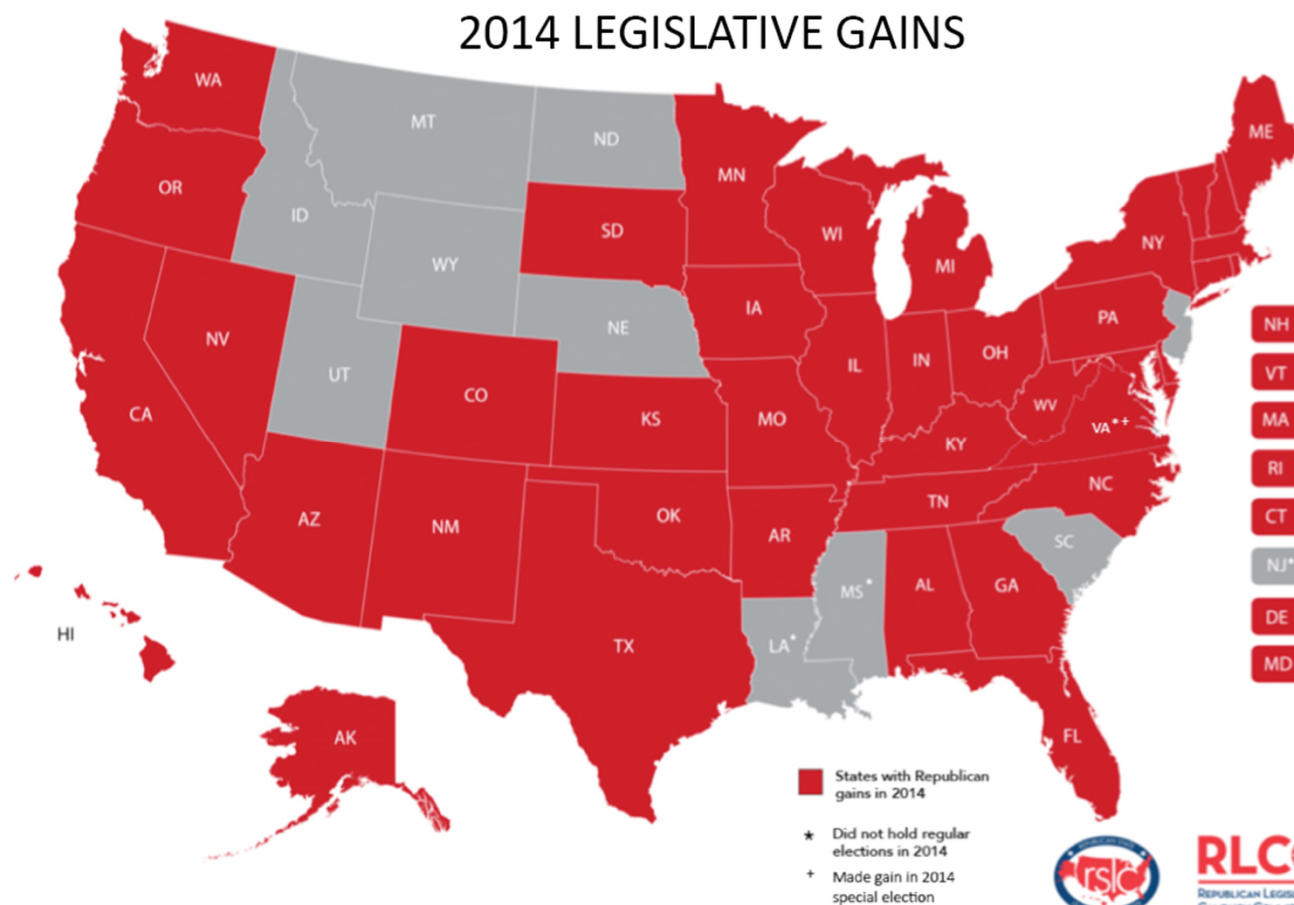
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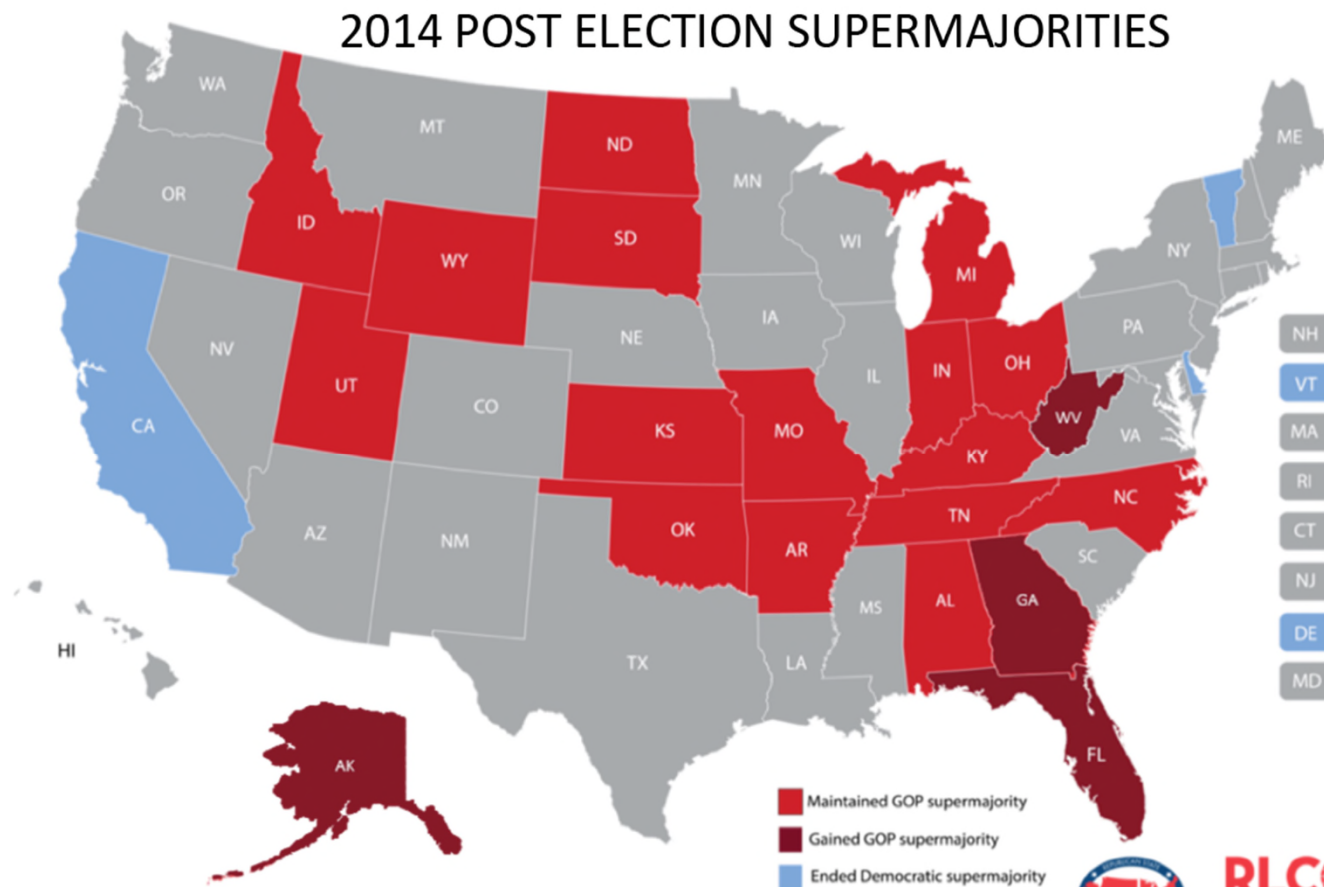
# 50 STATE PARTY



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# SUPERMAJORITIES



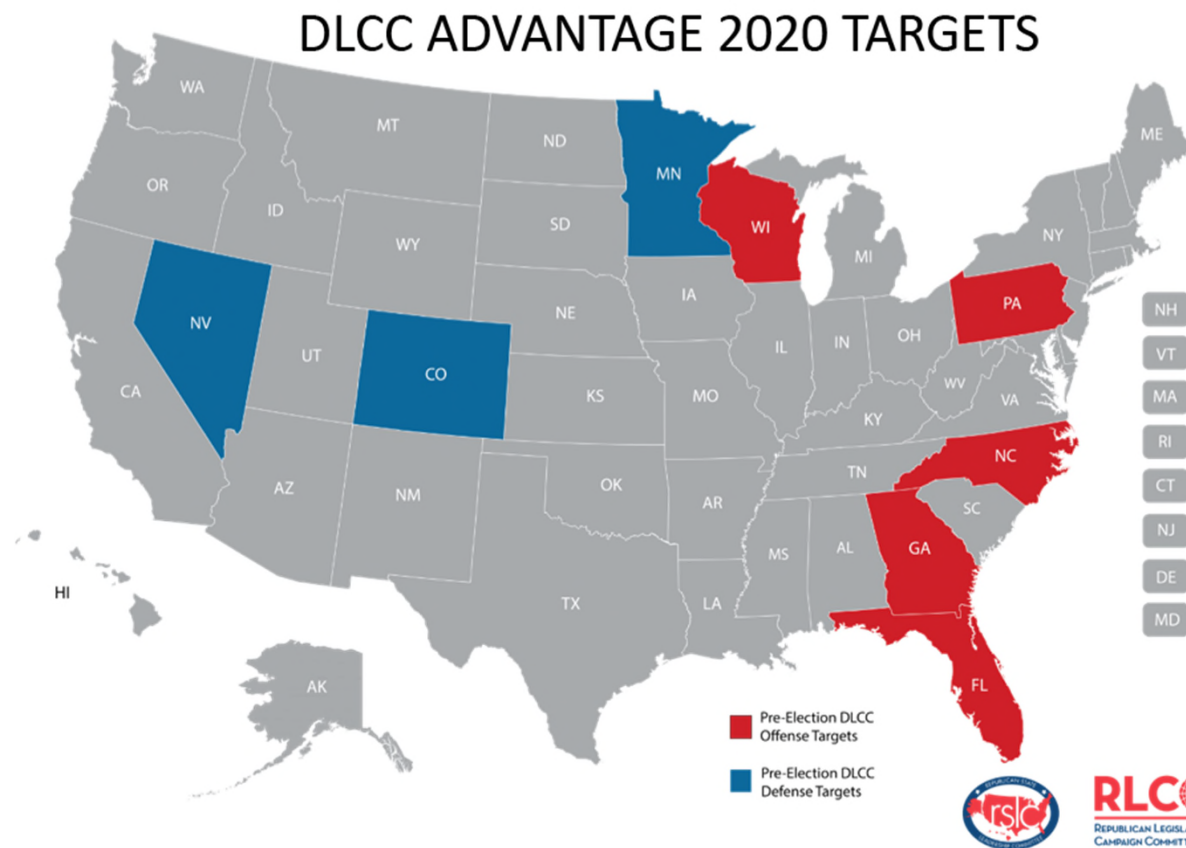
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# DLCC “ADVANTAGE 2020”



- The DLCC went 0 for 9 in their 2014 target chambers, failing to make a single net gain
- The RSLC maintained and made gains in 7 of the DLCC’s 9 target chambers



# HISTORIC NIGHT

- In the 2013-2014 cycle, Republicans added 10 new legislative majorities and defended every majority they held, bringing the total number of Republican-controlled legislatures to 69.
- In the 2013-2014 cycle, the RLCC enacted a full 50-state operation for success. Republicans made net gains in 62 of 99 chambers.
- In addition to ending four Democrat supermajorities, Republicans gained four supermajorities in the 2014 cycle, bringing the total to 38.
- Republicans control every legislative majority in the top 10 states for business tax climate, according the Tax Foundation.
- The RLCC won new majorities in six Obama blue states including Colorado, Maine, Minnesota, Nevada, New Mexico, and New Hampshire. Obama won all of these states by at least 4 points in 2012 and they add up to 38 electoral votes.
- Republicans gained 305 seats on Election Day in 2014 and hold a nearly 100 year high of 4,127 total legislative seats.







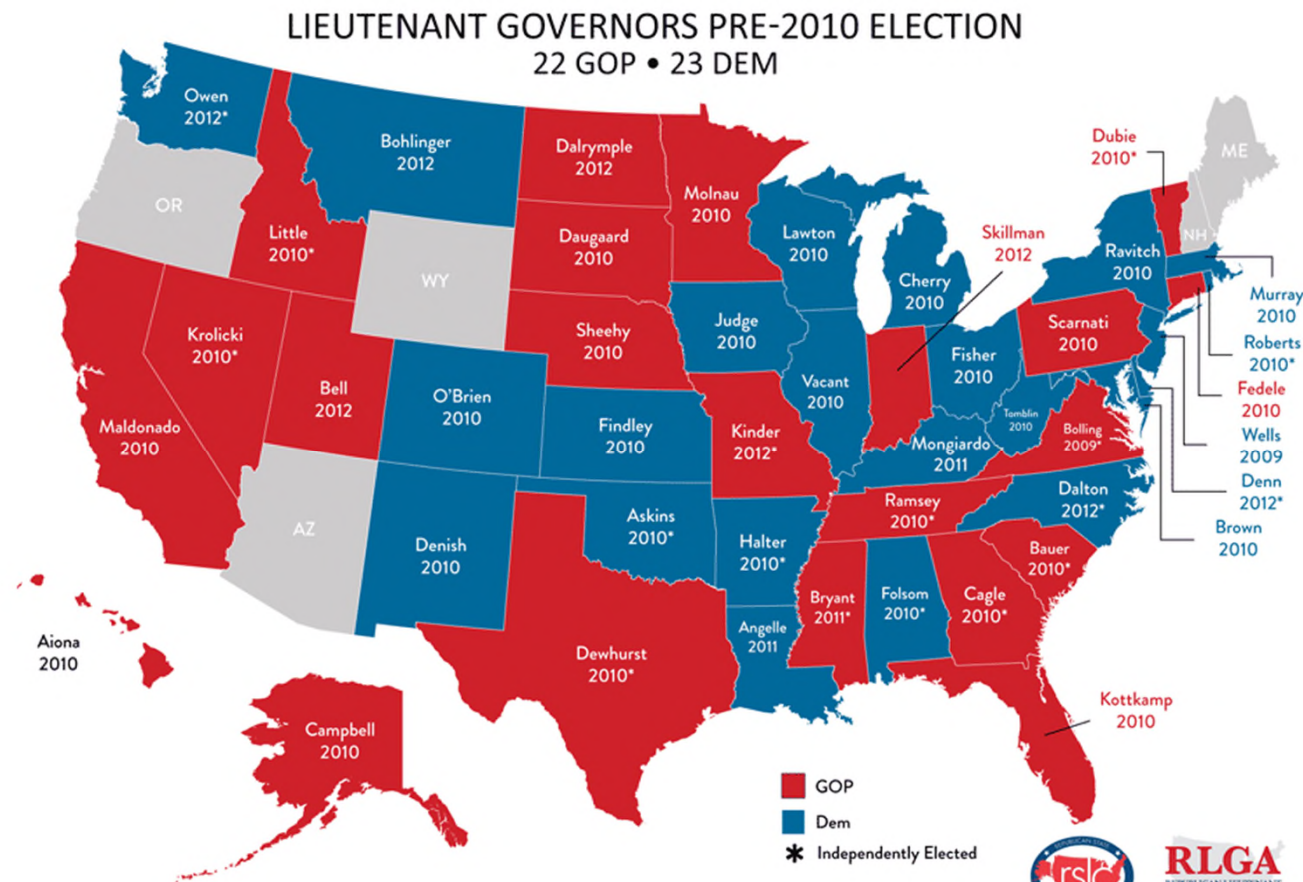
# RLGA

REPUBLICAN LIEUTENANT  
GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

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# CHANGE FROM 2010-2014

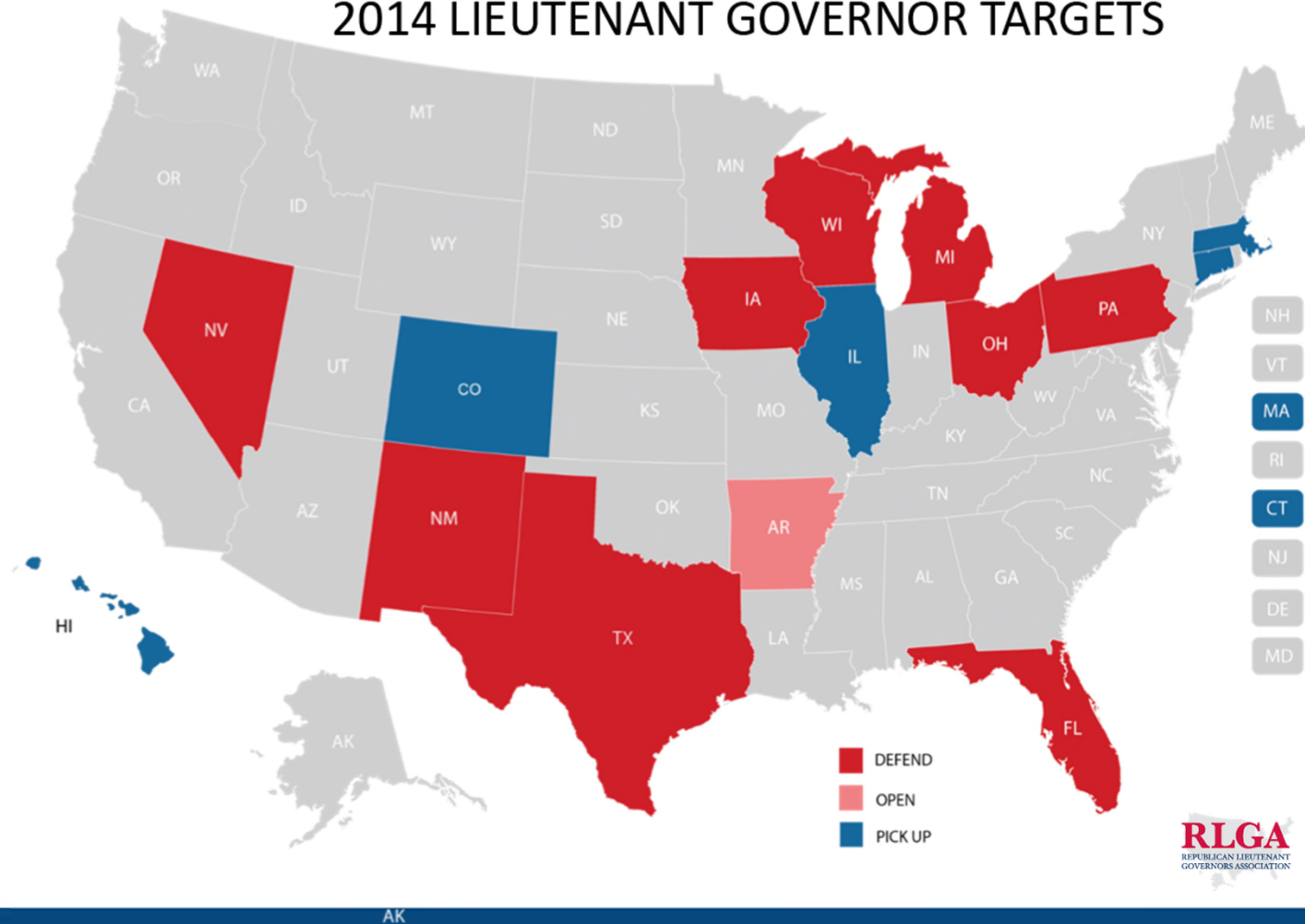


**RLGA**  
REPUBLICAN LIEUTENANT  
GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION



# TARGETS

## 2014 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR TARGETS



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**RLGA**  
REPUBLICAN LIEUTENANT  
GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION





# HISTORIC NIGHT

## New Lieutenant Governors



Tim Griffin  
Arkansas

Evelyn Sanguinetti  
Illinois

Boyd Rutherford  
Maryland

Karyn Polito  
Massachusetts

Henry McMaster  
South Carolina

Dan Patrick  
Texas

Bill Cole  
West Virginia

- RLGA candidates won in 16 of 18 investment races
- Republicans have 8 female lieutenant governors (Democrats have 5)
- Evelyn Sanguinetti is the only Latina lieutenant governor in the country
- Boyd Rutherford is the only African-American lieutenant governor in the country



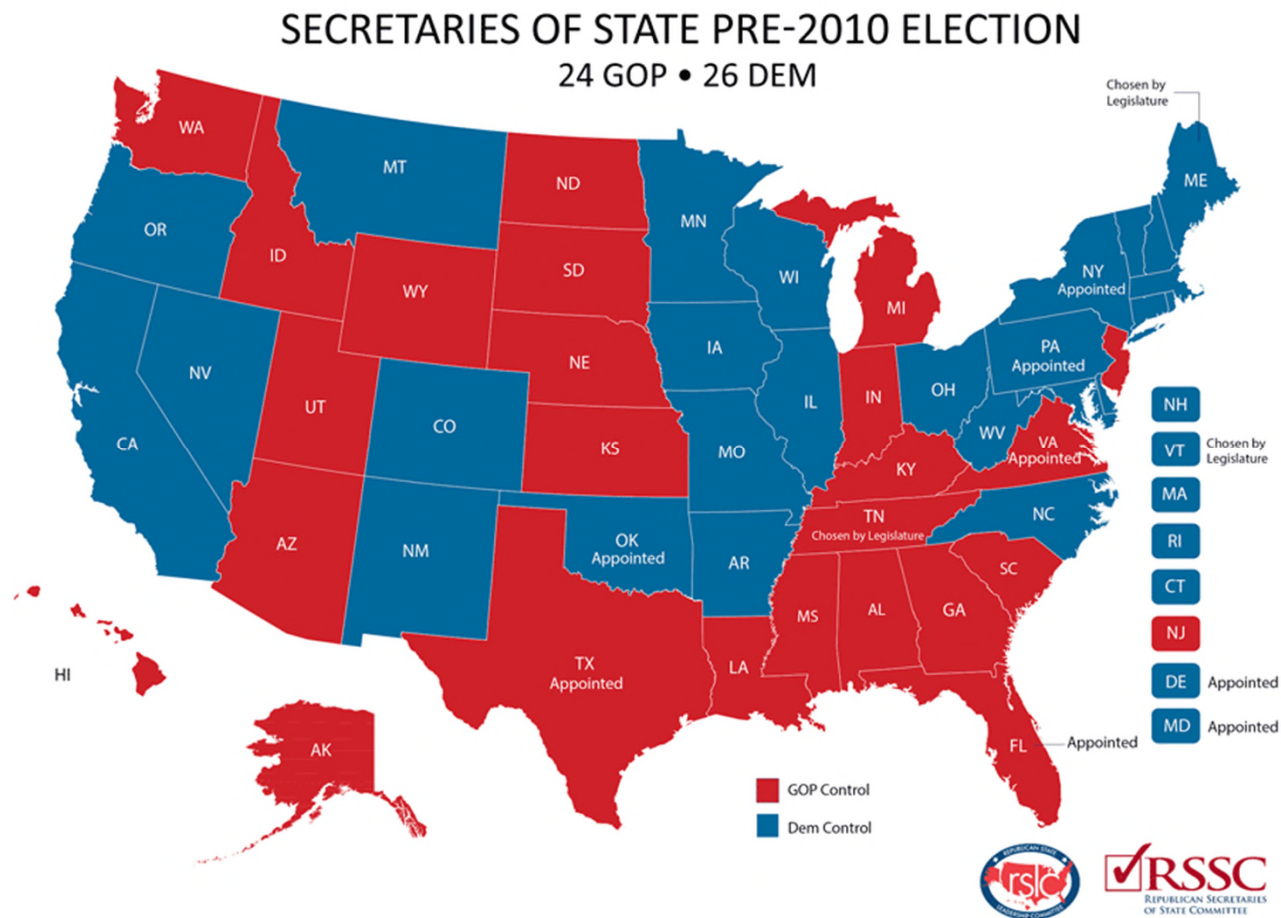


REPUBLICAN SECRETARIES  
OF STATE COMMITTEE

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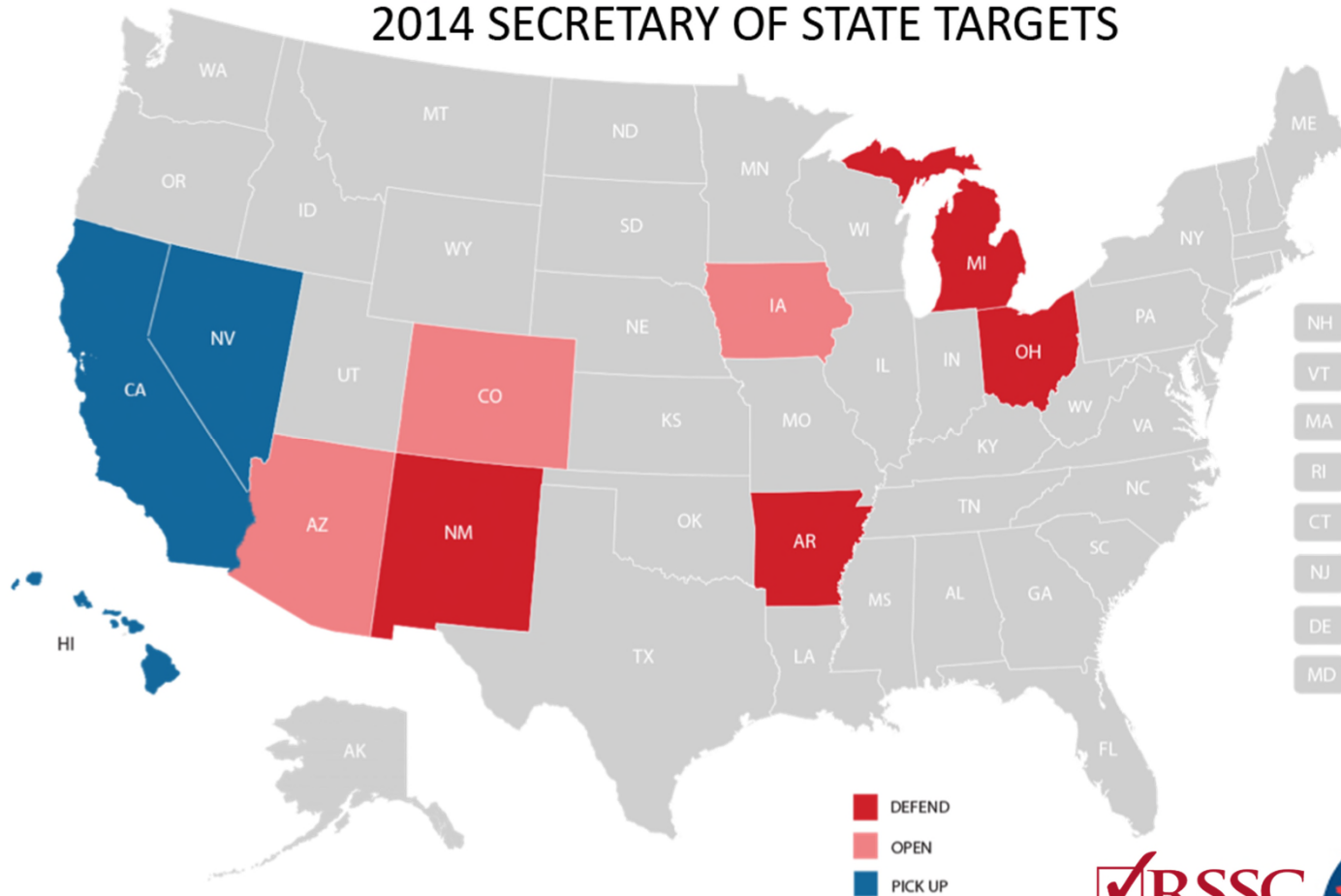


# CHANGE FROM 2010-2014



# TARGETS

## 2014 SECRETARY OF STATE TARGETS





# 2014 SUCCESSES

## Newly-elected Secretaries of State



Michele Reagan  
Arizona



Wayne Williams  
Colorado



Paul Pate  
Iowa



Barbara Cegavske  
Nevada



Shantel Krebs  
South Dakota



Ed Murray  
Wyoming

- Republicans picked up secretaries of state seats in MD & NV
- There are currently 8 Republican women serving as Secretary of State (AZ, IN, MI, NJ, NM, NV, SD & WA)



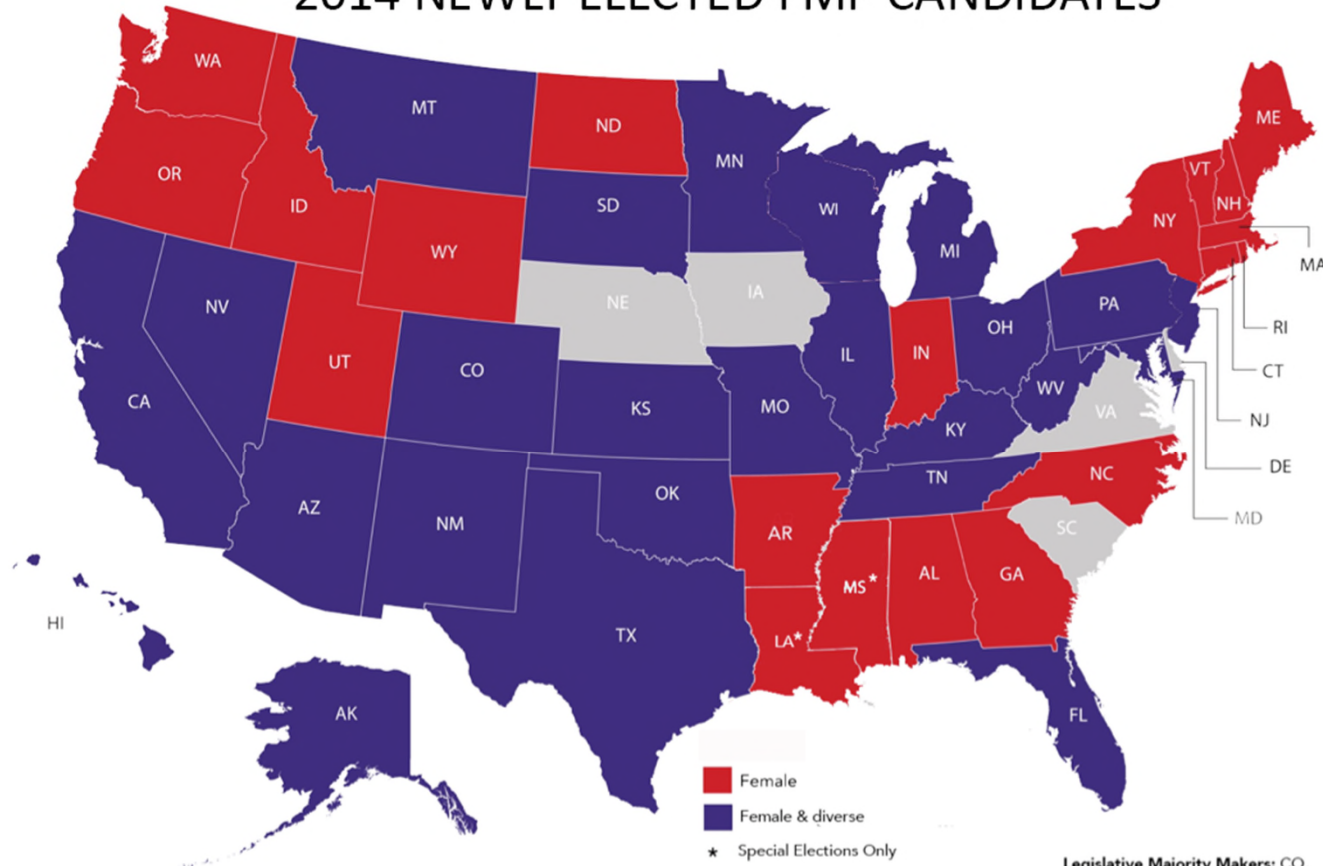


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# CURRENT LANDSCAPE

## 2014 NEWLY ELECTED FMP CANDIDATES



**Legislative Majority Makers:** CO, ME, MN, NH, NM, NV, NY, WV  
**Lt Governors:** FL, IL, MA, MD  
**Secretaries of State:** AZ, NV, SD

[www.RSLC.gop](http://www.RSLC.gop)



# 2014 SUCCESSES

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- In total, Republican women now hold 8 lieutenant governor seats and 7 secretaries of state seats– more than Democrats.
- Republicans have 7 female Senate Presidents (or similar positions): Sylvia Allen (AZ), Susan Wagle (KS), Debby Barrett (MT), Sharon Carson (NH), Tonya Schuitmaker (MI), Pam Roach (WA), Mary Lazich (WI).
- 43 new diverse and 140 new female candidates were elected this cycle.
- RSLC invested more than \$6 million into FMP candidates in the 2013-2014 cycle.
- FMP partnered with more than 60 community-based organizations, economic councils and trade-specific associations to recruit candidates.
- FMP identified and recruited a record 244 new candidates of diverse backgrounds and 558 new female candidates from 46 states.





# MAJORITY MAKERS



Beth Martinez -Humenik, CO

Rene Plasencia, FL

Linda Baker, ME

Peggy Bennett, MN



Victoria Seaman, NV

Sarah Maestas Barnes, NM

Conrad James, NM

Harry Lewis, PA

Jill Upson, WV

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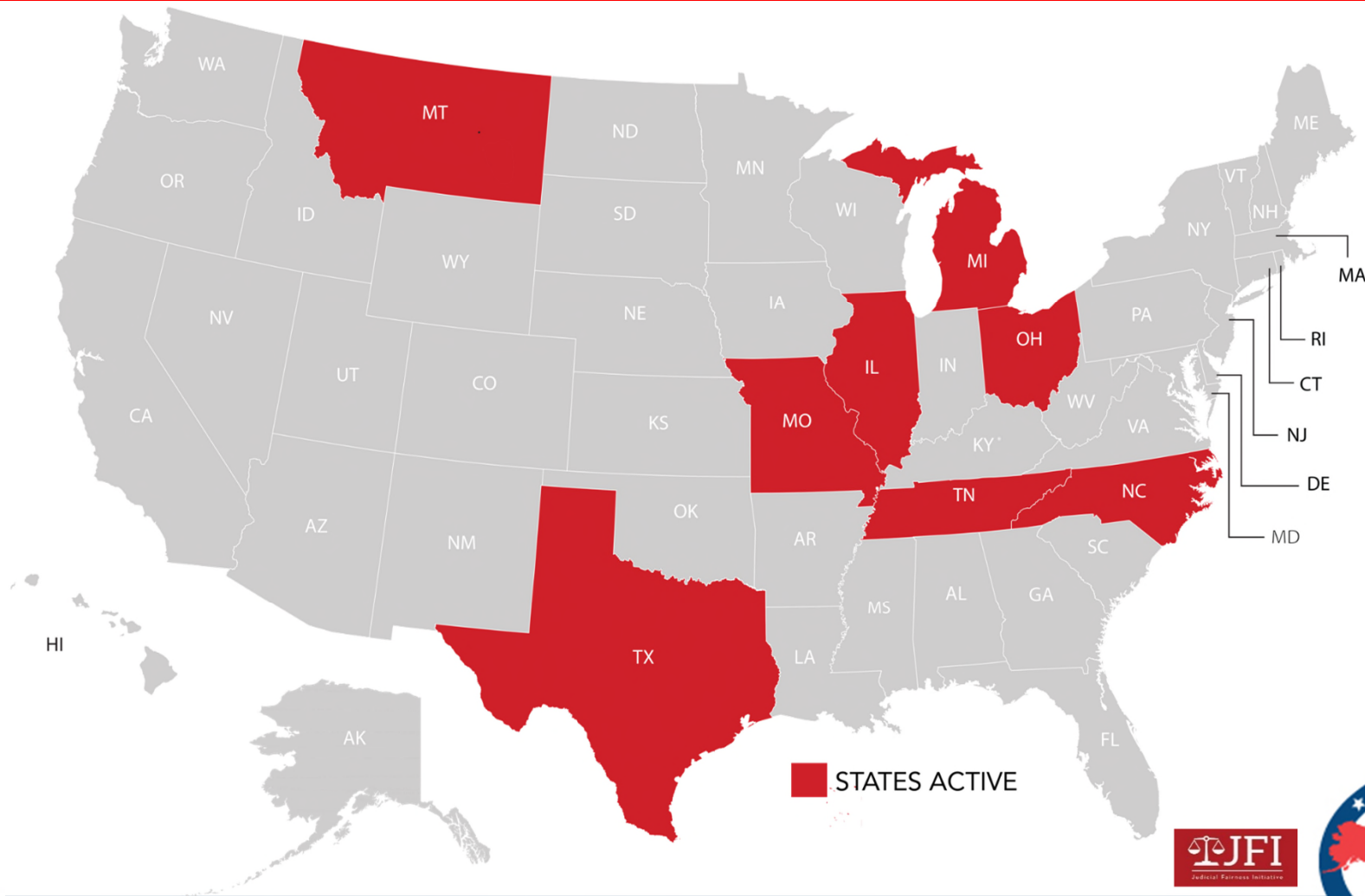


Judicial Fairness Initiative



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# 2014 POLITICAL EXPENDITURES



[www.RSLC.gop](http://www.RSLC.gop)



# SUCCESS STORIES



Lloyd Karmeier, Fifth District Judge, Illinois

**Chicago Tribune**

*"...The Washington-based Republican State Leadership Committee, which supports Republicans running in down-ballot elections, spent nearly \$1 million to counter the ads, and Karmeier survived..."*



Judi French, Associate Supreme Court Justice, Ohio

**The Columbus Dispatch**

*"Illinois Supreme Court justice survives ballot attack"*

*"...the appointed Republican justice won a six-year term over Democrat John P. O'Donnell by campaigning hard & winning name identification from TV advertising & mailers rolled out by independent groups..."*

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# 2016 ROADMAP

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# DEMOCRATS REORGANIZING

## The New York Times

"GOP Gains by Tapping Democrats' Base for State Candidates"

"Liberal donors plan new investments in state politics"



THE WALL  
STREET  
JOURNAL.

"Also urgent, the [DNC] report said, is the need to recruit strong Democratic candidates over the next three elections to win back state legislatures..."

"Democrats' Future Looks Grim"

## INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS TIMES

"Republicans Crush Democrats At State Level, Control Two-Thirds Of Legislatures Now"



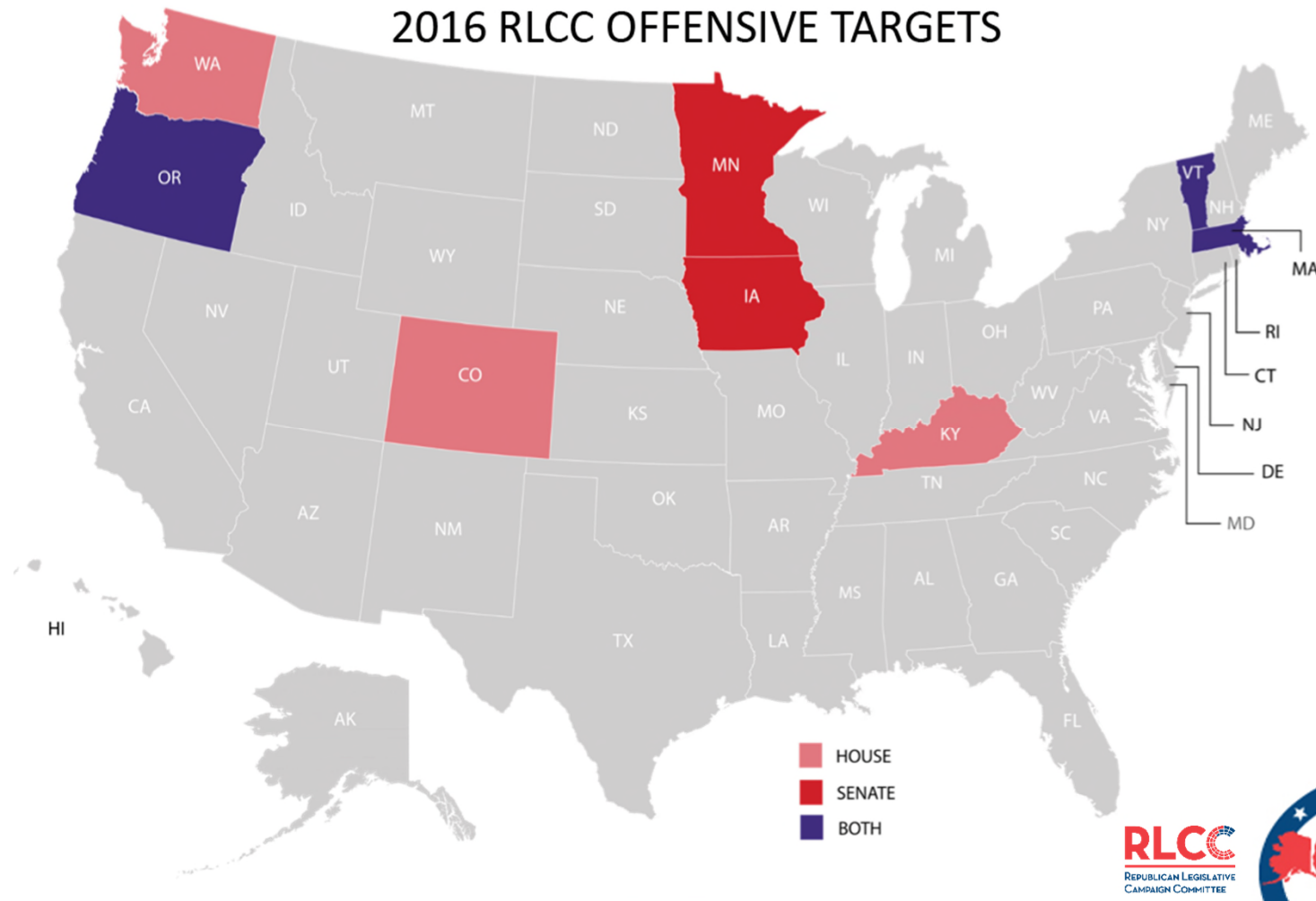
"Democracy Alliance, a massive network of high-dollar Democratic donors, hopes to turn the tide of recent Republican gains in state legislatures and governorships."

GOVERNING  
THE STATES AND LOCALITIES



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# 2015-2016 TARGETS - RLCC

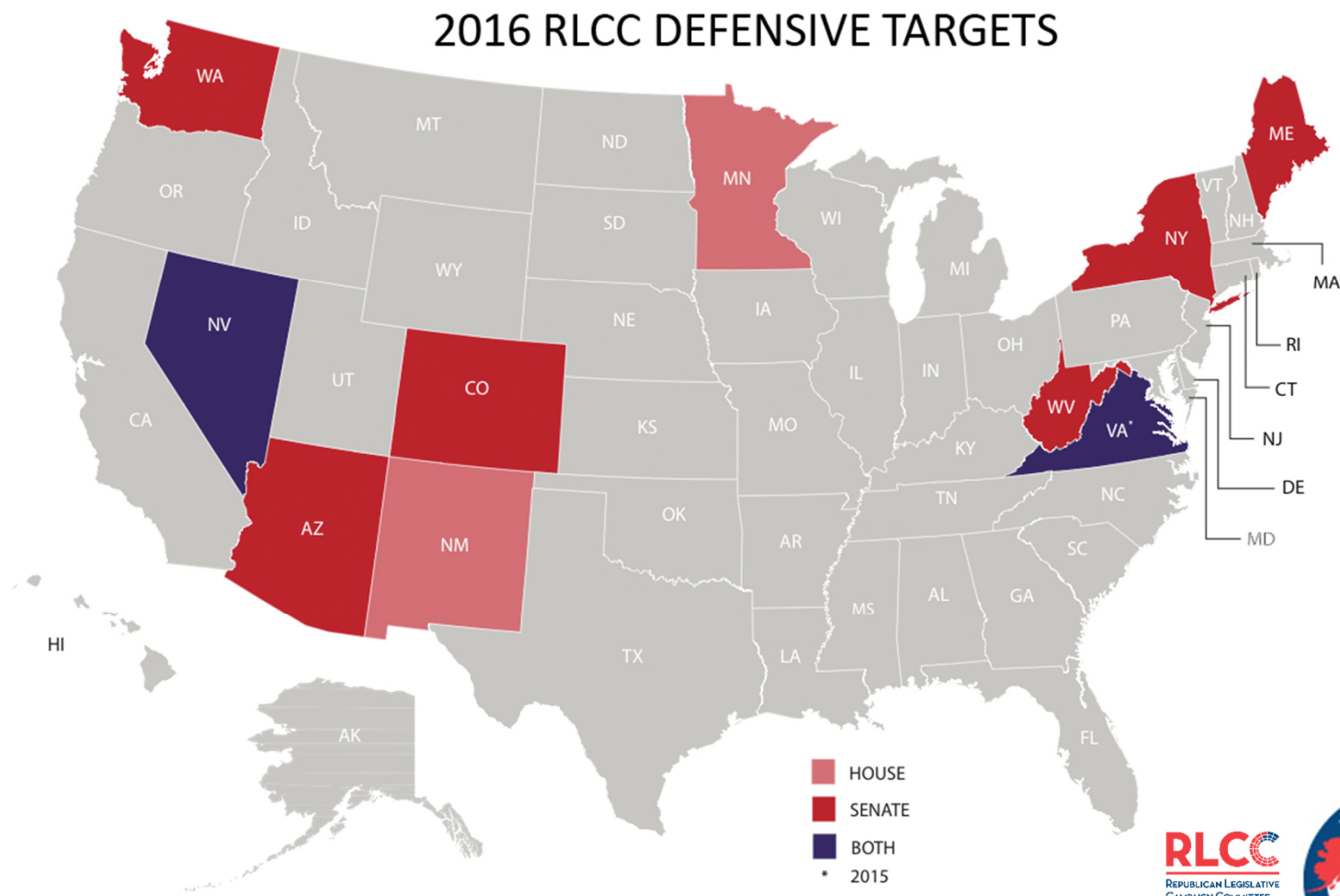


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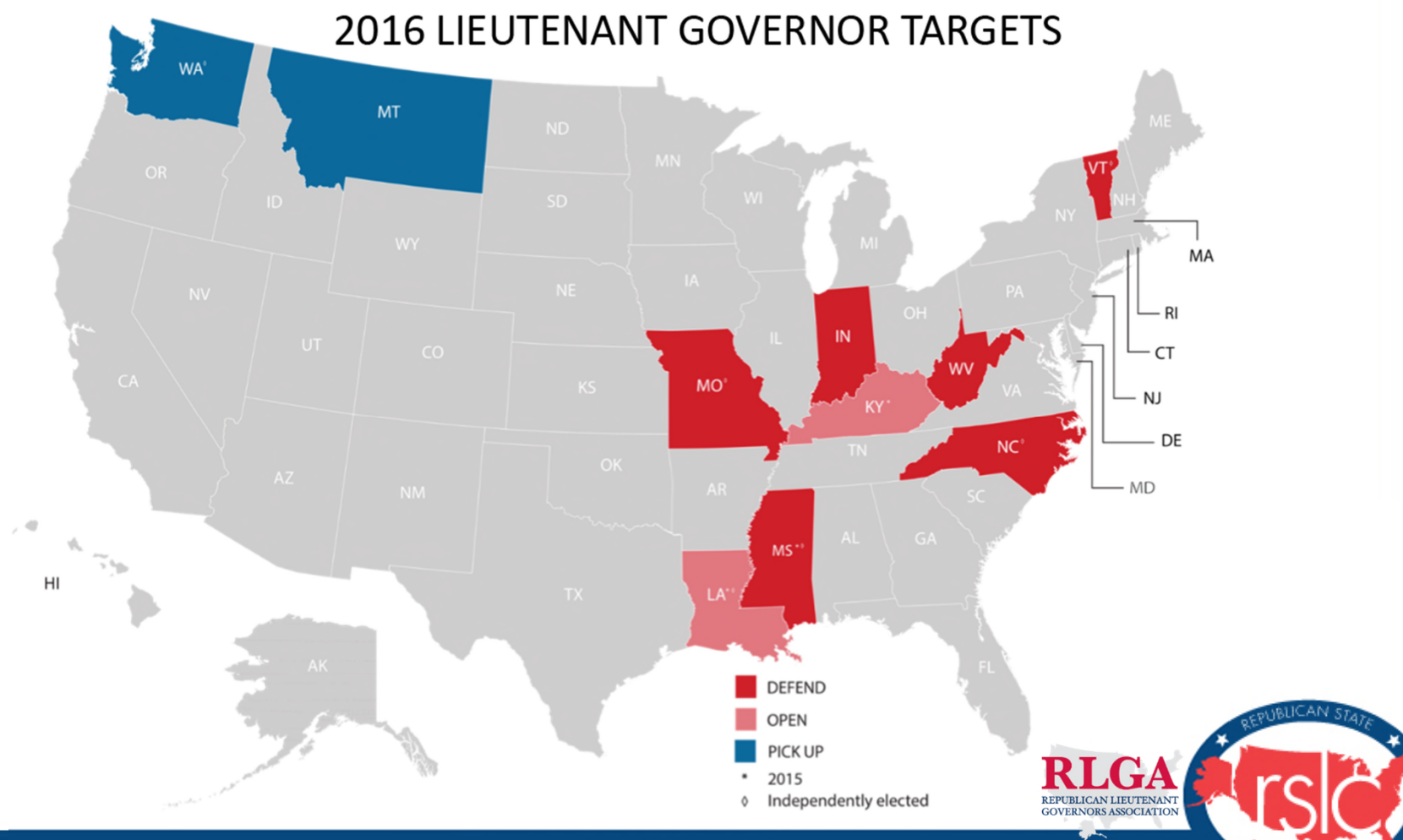
**RLCC**  
REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE  
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE



# 2015-2016 TARGETS - RLCC



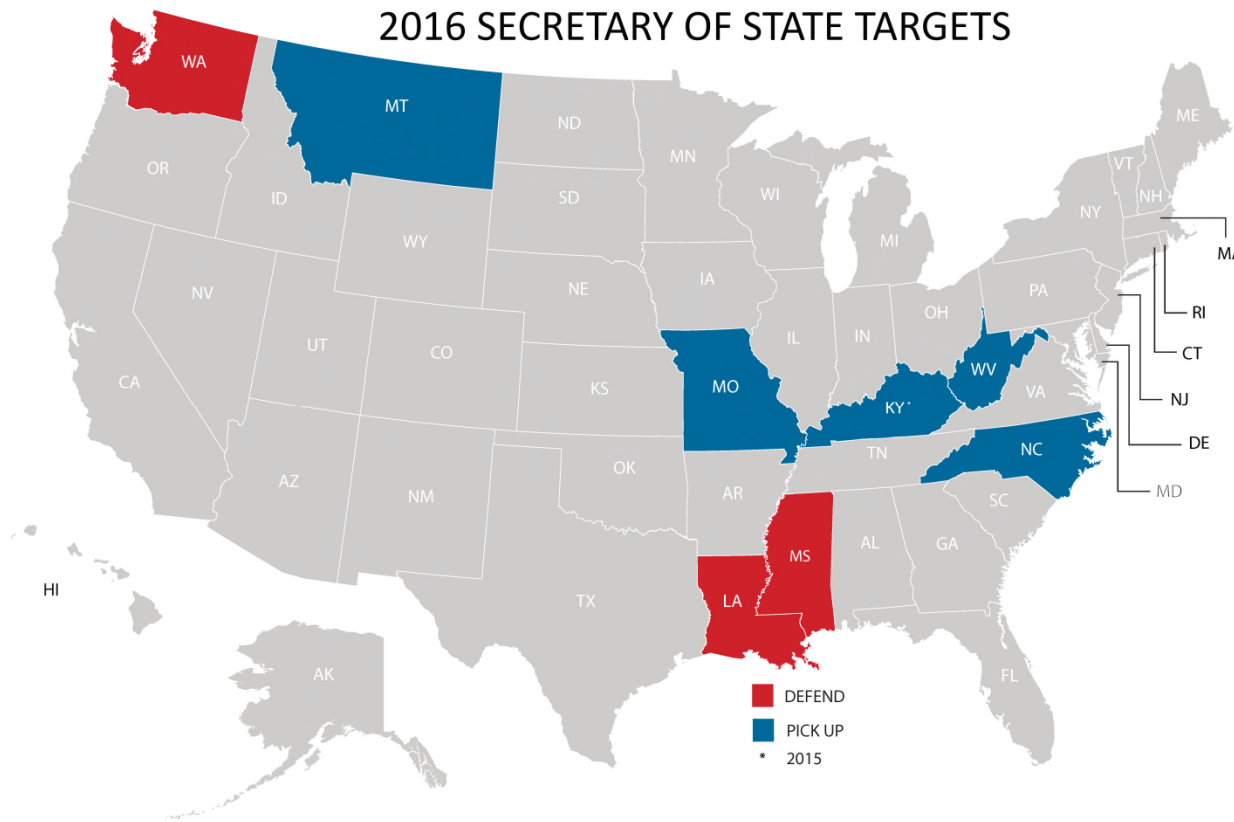
# 2015-2016 TARGETS - RLGA



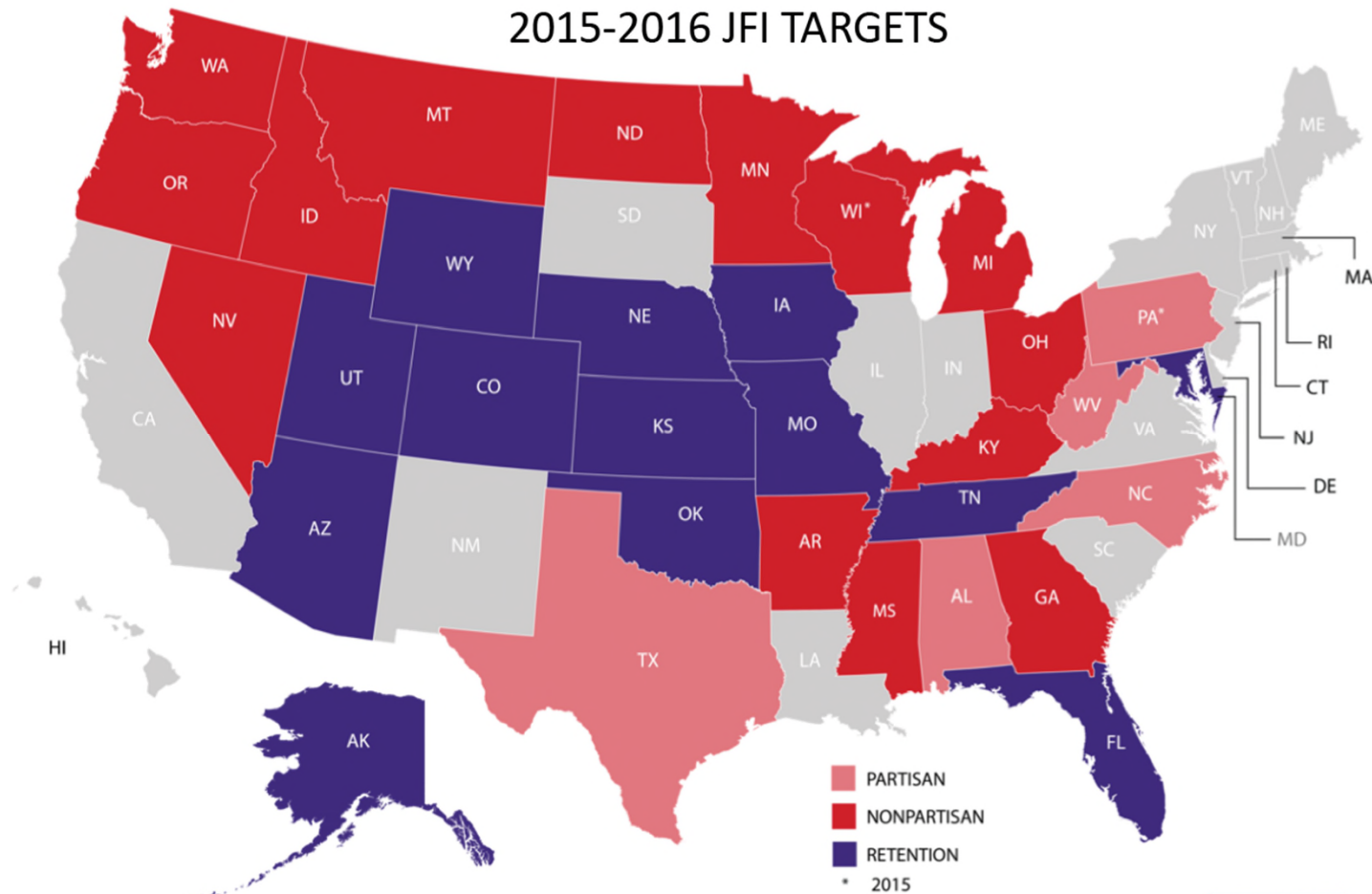
[www.RSLC.gop](http://www.RSLC.gop)



# 2015-2016 TARGETS - RSSC



# 2015-2016 TARGETS - JFI



[www.RSLC.gop](http://www.RSLC.gop)





# CENTER FOR CONSERVATIVE INITIATIVES

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# TIME

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- “[Democracy Alliance] a network of wealthy, liberal contributors began meeting Wednesday to plot a new political strategy aimed at electing more Democrats to state-level positions and finding ways to increase the party's voter base...
- “Democrats say voter support last week for ballot initiatives that increased the minimum wage in deep-red states, such as Nebraska and Arkansas, point to an opening for liberals. The alliance is likely to provide support to groups working on other state-level ballot initiatives in the coming years as part of its new ground-level approach.” USA Today, 11/12/14



# POLITICO

## Liberals ramp up for state-by-state push in 2016

*Groups hope proposition leads to U.S. action.*

12/8/14

- “Progressives, frustrated at gridlock in Washington and at the state level, are planning a major ballot-initiative push across the country as they bank on a likely favorable electorate in 2016.
- In particular, organizations are confident that after achieving success on progressive ballot initiatives with an older and more conservative bloc of voters in 2014, the younger and more liberal electorate expected to turn out in the upcoming presidential contest will produce some major triumphs.
- It’s widely expected that referendums on gun control, marijuana legalization and economic fairness issues, including paid sick leave and equal pay, will outnumber those in 2012, a sign that liberals are embracing a state-based model that allows them to circumvent legislatures and Congress.”



# IMPACTS

- **Messaging:** Ballot initiatives can define and drive specific conversations during election years, such as minimum wage and marijuana in 2014, forcing candidates to comment.
- **Changing Policy:** Ballot initiatives have become a favorite vehicle of the left to achieve policy outcomes not possible with the increasing number of GOP controlled state legislatures.
- **Voter Education:** Informing voters about a ballot question is the difference between the success or defeat of any initiative. A combination of earned and paid media coupled with effective grassroots strategies are critical to the success or defeat of any measure.



# CASE STUDIES: VOTER TURNOUT

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Basic summary: The results as concluded by academia are mixed.

- “Most of the scholarly literature confirms that the ability to legislate from the ballot does increase turnout for midterm elections, but there is less unanimity with regards to a similar effect for presidential elections “(Lacey 2005; Schlozman and Yohai 2008; Smith 2001; Smith and Tolbert 2004; Tolbert and Smith 2005; Tolbert et al. 2001, 2003, 2009).
- A second study: “Tolbert and Smith (2005) estimated the effects at nearly 1 to 2 percentage points for presidential and midterm elections respectively.”
- A third Study: “Ballot measures provide a boost to turnout during midterm elections but not presidential years... by about four points during midterms.” (Smith 2001).









#### States that allow direct initiated constitutional amendments

-  States that allow legislatively-referred and direct initiative statutes, or legislatively-referred and direct initiated constitutional amendments or referendums.
-  States that allow legislatively-referred and indirect initiative statutes, or legislatively-referred and direct initiated constitutional amendments or referendums.
-  Illinois allows legislatively-referred initiative statutes, or legislatively-referred and direct initiated constitutional amendments or referendums.
-  Mississippi allows legislatively-referred, indirect, and direct initiated constitutional amendments.
-  Florida allows legislatively-referred, and direct initiated constitutional amendments.



#### States and federal district that allow initiated statutes

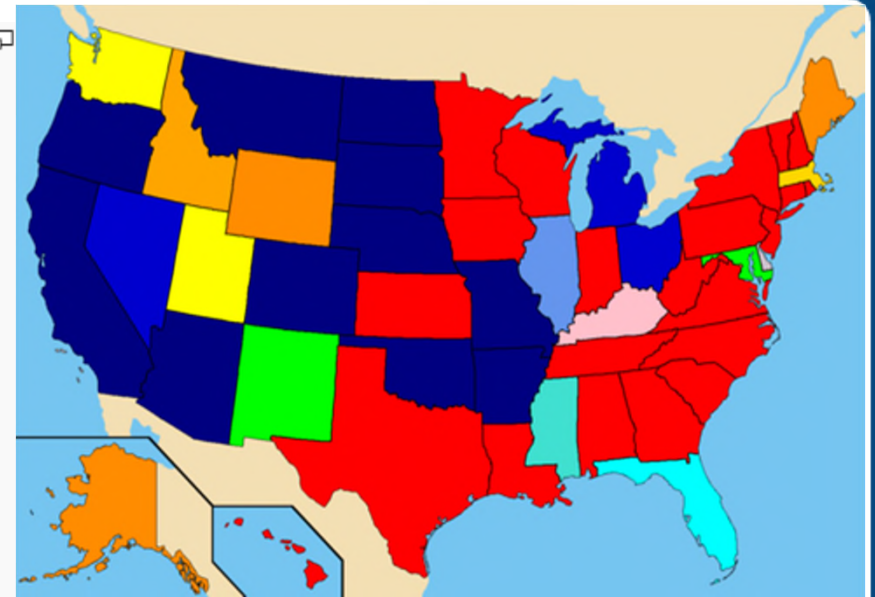
-  Massachusetts allows legislatively-referred and indirect initiative statutes, or legislatively-referred and indirect initiated constitutional amendments or referendums.
-  States that allow legislatively-referred, indirect, and direct initiative statutes, or legislatively-referred initiated constitutional amendments or referendums.
-  Idaho allows direct initiative statutes, or legislatively-referred initiated constitutional amendments or referendums.
-  States that allow indirect initiative statutes, or legislatively-referred initiated constitutional amendments or referendums.
-  Washington D.C. allows direct initiative statutes.

#### States that allow referendums

-  States that allow legislatively-referred state statutes, or legislatively-referred initiated constitutional amendments or referendums.

#### States that allow legislative referral only

-  Kentucky allows legislatively-referred state statutes and legislatively-referred initiated constitutional amendments.
-  States that allow legislatively-referred initiated constitutional amendments only.



**Indirect** = sponsors collect signatures, then measure is taken up by legislature. Legislature then enacts as written or refuses to act, which then goes to ballot.

**Direct** = no legislative act needed.

**Legislative referral** = legislature puts proposed legislation up for popular vote

**Referendum** = signatures by citizen or organization for the sole purpose of repealing an act of the legislature

# FREQUENT TOPICS IN 2014

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## Statewide

- Healthcare (coverage issues and ACA)
- Hunting rights
- Admissibility of evidence in court, child sex abuse
- Veterans exemptions (usually property taxation)

## Local

- Fracking
- GMOs
- LGBT and marriage
- Marijuana
- Minimum Wage
- Public Pension
- Sport arena subsidies
- Secession
- Labor Laws
- Police Brutality

# INDUSTRY DONOR EXAMPLE

2014 California proposition 45- Allow state's insurance commissioner to reject health insurance price changes.

NO = 59%; YES = 41%

✓ YES			Funding		✗ NO		
RANK	CONTRIBUTOR NAME	TOTAL			RANK	CONTRIBUTOR NAME	TOTAL
1	CALIFORNIA NURSES ASSOCIATION	\$1,000,000			1	KAISER FOUNDATION HEALTH PLAN, INC.	\$15,015,350
2	CONSUMER WATCHDOG	\$500,000			2	WELLPOINT, INC. AND AFFILIATED ENTITIES	\$12,770,000
3	GREENE BROILLET & WHEELER, LLP	\$125,000			3	BLUE SHIELD OF CALIFORNIA	\$9,693,400
4	COMMITTEE FOR CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY AND CONSUMER PROTECTION	\$105,121			4	HEALTH NET, INC.	\$5,392,100
5	CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF TEACHERS COPE PROP/BALLOT COMMITTEE	\$78,000			5	CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF HEALTH PLANS	\$65,000
		\$2.3 million raised in total					\$43.4 million raised in total

# Individual Donor Example: 2014 Florida Medical Marijuana Amendment

PAC	Amount raised	Amount spent
<i>Drug Free Florida Committee</i>	\$6,348,932	\$6,273,331
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$6,348,932</b>	<b>\$6,273,331</b>

The following donors contributed \$5,000 or more to *Drug Free Florida Committee*:

## Top Donors:

Donor	Amount
Sheldon Adelson	\$5,000,000
Carol Jenkins Barnett Family Trust	\$540,000
Mel F. Sembler	\$100,000
Alfred Hoffman Jr.	\$25,000
Thomas A. James	\$25,000
Central Florida Hotel & Lodging Association	\$20,000
Neal Communities of Southwest Florida	\$10,000
Malcolm K. Beyer, Jr.	\$5,000

PAC	Amount raised	Amount spent
<i>People United for Medical Marijuana</i>	\$8,069,218	\$7,388,446
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$8,069,218</b>	<b>\$7,388,446</b>

The following are donors who contributed more than \$45,000 to *People United for Medical Marijuana*:

## Top Donors:

Donor	Amount
The Morgan Law Firm, PA	\$3,574,188
Barbara A. Stiefel	\$875,000
John Morgan	\$250,000
Center for Drug Policy Reform	\$170,000
Drug Policy Action	\$150,000
Henry Van Ameringen	\$150,000
Complete Hydroponics	\$75,000
International Sports Management	\$85,000
Manchester Capital	\$60,000
June Simpson	\$50,600
John Holloway	\$50,000
Howard Kessler	\$50,000
Altmed, LLC	\$50,000
Harrison's Organic Acres	\$50,000
William M. Selvidge	\$50,000
Angela Macaluso	\$49,000
Ben Siegel Reptiles Inc.	\$45,000
Umvar Inc.	\$45,000



# RECENT FREQUENCY OF USE

- 49 of 50 states have some method for allowing citizens to vote directly on either a state statute, or an amendment, or both. The most common method is either directly through citizen petition or, most commonly, indirectly as initiated by the state legislature.

Type of ballot measure	2014	2012	2010
Legislatively-referred constitutional amendments	91	99	106
Citizen Initiatives	35	50	46
Legislatively-referred state statutes	20	20	23

**Success Rate:** in 2014, 102 Ballot Measures were approved, and 56 were defeated



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# THE PATH TO 270



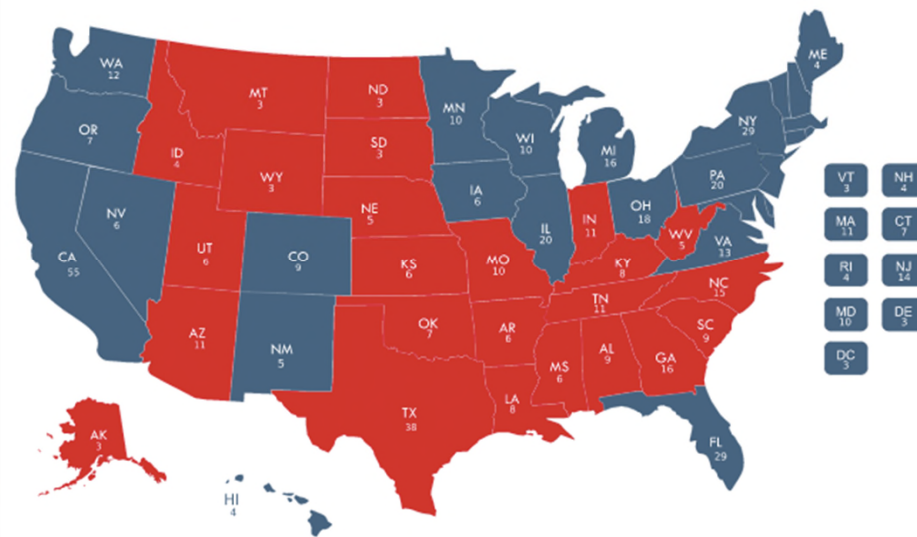
Create Your Own Path to 270 Map

Elected Leaders as Paths to 270

2014 State Success Paths to 270

## Create Your Own Path to 270 Map

Start with the 2012 Presidential result map below, click a state, and guess the future!



Republican: 206 Democrat: 332 Neutral: 0

PathTo270.gov

www.RSLC.gov



# POLITICO

## Jeb Bush aids down-ballot Republicans

*He supports “the conservative cause” at a Richmond fundraiser.*

2/16/15

- “With snow coating downtown Richmond, Bush headlined an event here at the historic Jefferson Hotel to raise money for the Republican State Leadership Committee — which focuses on down-ballot races...
- ““This was an effort to raise money for the RSLC which is the group that raises money for state legislative candidates, which I am big supporter of,’ Bush said in a quick interview with POLITICO as he left the Jefferson. He added that the RSLC’s efforts furthered “the conservative cause.’”
- “When asked if he also discussed his potential presidential candidacy with donors, the former Florida governor, who got his start in state politics as chairman of the Miami-Dade County Republican Party, said: ‘It was mostly about the efforts to support the Legislature here in the upcoming races.’”







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# A BETTER WAY TO ORGANIZE ONLINE

The growing movement online through .gop benefits the entire Party:

- A single Party domain reinforces brand
- Easy-to-remember domains never previously available
- Simple new revenue stream
- Maximize technological advantage and demonstrate culture change



whyiam.gop



cruzcrew.gop



fitn.gop



missouri.gop



texasyr.gop



clevelandevents.gop



yrnation.gop



lincolnday.gop





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# OPPORTUNITIES FOR ENGAGEMENT, PARTNERSHIP

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- King V. Burwell
- Elected official fly-ins
- International trips





# REDMAP 2020

- During the 2010, RSLC launched REDMAP, wildly heralded as one of the most innovative and successful plans for ensuring Republican dominance of state legislatures and Congress through gaining control of the once in a decade 2010 redistricting processes, a function of the party in control of state legislatures.
- The RSLC is already in advanced stages of planning REDMAP 2020 - an even greater investment in redistricting for 2020, hiring dedicated staff to focus on redistricting strategy and litigation.
- The RSLC is working with the RNC, national redistricting experts and attorneys on ensuring Republicans maintain this advantage for 2020 and beyond.





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